

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 MC-02 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-11 L-03 ACDA-19 NSAE-00 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-20

NSC-07 INRE-00 AEC-11 SCI-06 OMB-01 EURE-00 OIC-04

SAM-01 AECE-00 AF-10 NEA-14 DRC-01 CU-05 H-03 /175 W

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O R 291733Z AUG 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7327

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 4654

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: REVISED IS PAPER ON CBM'S

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

REF: USNATO 4633

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF JUST-RECEIVED REVISED (DATED AUGUST 28)

IS PAPER ON CBM'S. MISSION'S COMMENTS FOLLOW SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT

1. AT ITS MEETING ON 19TH JULY THE COUNCIL DECIDED THAT  
FURTHER STUDIES ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES BE CARRIED OUT  
IN BRUSSELS RATHER THAN IN GENEVA AND INSTRUCTED THE POLITICAL  
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COMMITTEE TO PURSUE ITS CONSIDERATION OF THE OUTSTANDING  
ISSUES.

2. IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE COUNCIL'S DECISION, THE

POLITICAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSED IN A SERIES OF MEETINGS HELD THROUGHOUT AUGUST 1974 THOSE ASPECTS OF CBM'S DESERVING FURTHER HARMONISATION WITHIN NATO. ITS FINDINGS WERE CONSIDERED BY THE CSCE EXPERTS AT THEIR MEETING AT NATO HEADQUARTERS ON 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1974.

3. ON THE GENERAL OBJECTIVES PURSUED BY ALLIED MEMBER COUNTRIES, THE COMMITTEE AGREED THAT THESE COULD BE BETTER ACHIEVED IF AN AGREEMENT ON CBM'S INCLUDED ACCEPTANCE OF THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA:

(I) THE PURPOSES OF THE CSCE COULD NOT BE MET WITHOUT PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS ACQUIRING GREATER CONFIDENCE IN EACH OTHER'S MILITARY INTENTIONS AND ACTIVITIES;

(II) THE PARTICIPATING STATES EXPRESS THE CLEAR POLITICAL INTENTION TO GIVE EFFECT TO PRECISE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES;

(III) SUCH CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES SHOULD BE OF A KIND WHICH PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS WILL IN FACT PUT INTO EFFECT, THUS STRIKING A FAIR BALANCE BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

4. THE COMMITTEE FELT THAT IN DEFINING CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES DUE ACCOUNT SHOULD BE TAKEN OF THE INTERESTS OF NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED PARTICIPANTS TO THE CSCE.

5. AS REGARDS THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES THE COMMITTEE AGREED ON THE FOLLOWING REQUIREMENTS:

(A) AN AGREEMENT ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANOEUVRES WHICH WOULD INVOLVE ALL PARTICIPANTS IN NOTIFYING ALL OTHER (INTERESTED) PARTICIPANTS (OF AS MANY AS POSSIBLE) OF THE POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL OR MULTINATIONAL MANOEUVRES (WHICH TAKE PLACE IN THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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TERRITORY IN EUROPE) (WHICH TAKE PLACE IN THE RELEVANT AREA).

PLUS

EITHER

(IN THE CASE OF THE SOVIET UNION ONLY A PART OF ITS TERRITORY WOULD BE INVOLVED BUT IT MUST BE A SUBSTANTIAL ONE).

OR

(AN AREA ENCOMPASSING ALL OF EUROPE BUT LIMITED IN THE USSR TO A BAND OF .....((AND EXCLUDING THE

MEDITERRANEAN)) WOULD BE MOST LIKELY OF ACCEPTANCE BY ALL PARTICIPANTS BUT MUST BE FORMULATED WITH SPECIAL CONCERN FOR THE NEEDS OF THE NATO FLANK STATES. AN ANNOUNCEMENT TIME OF ..... AND A THRESHOLD IN THE ..... RANGE WOULD BE REALISTIC.) (1)(2)

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(1) THE STATUS OF ALLIED AGREEMENT ON THE FIGURES WHICH HAVE BEEN LEFT BLANK WILL BE BRIEFED ORALLY BY THE CHAIRMAN.

(2) THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION SUGGESTED ATTACHING AN ANNEX CONTAINING AN ILLUSTRATIVE DRAFT TEXT OF A FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT.  
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PLUS

THERE SHOULD BE NO COMMITMENT TO NOTIFY SEPARATE AIR AND NAVAL MANOEUVRES (BUT A CLAUSE IN WHICH IT IS RECOGNISED THAT PRIOR NOTIFICATION WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO CONFIDENCE BUILDING AND WOULD ENCOURAGE PARTICIPATING STATES TO NOTIFY SUCH MANOEUVRES)(3);

(B) (AN AGREEMENT ON PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS IN WHICH IT IS RECOGNISED THAT NOTIFICATION WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING AND WHICH WOULD ENCOURAGE, THOUGH NOT COMMIT, PARTICIPATING STATES TO NOTIFY)(3)

OR

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(IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS, THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT SHOULD STATE THAT THE QUESTION OF THE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS HAS BEEN CAREFULLY STUDIED BUT SHOULD NOT CONCLUDE OR IN ANY WAY INDICATE THAT MEASURES ON THIS SUBJECT ARE PRACTICABLE AT THIS TIME).

PLUS

THERE SHOULD BE NO COMMITMENT TO STUDY THE SUBJECT FURTHER AFTER THE CONFERENCE. (BUT THIS POSSIBILITY SHOULD BE LEFT OPEN.);

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(3) REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE NORWEGIAN DRAFT COMPROMISE PROPOSAL.  
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(C) (AN AGREEMENT ON EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS WHICH WOULD ENCOURAGE PARTICIPATING STATES TO INVITE SUCH OBSERVERS AND BE HELPFUL IN FACILITIES WHICH THEY WOULD PROVIDE FOR THEM)(THE TEXT AN EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS WHICH WAS

AGREED IN GENEVA ON 25TH JULY PROVIDES A SUITABLE BASIS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRACTICES AND MODALITIES OF EXCHANGES). (HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THESE PRACTICES AND MODALITIES DEVELOP IN A WAY FAVOURABLE TO ALL, NATO SHOULD UNDERTAKE AN INTERNAL STUDY TO DETERMINE THE FACILITIES AND CONDITIONS ALLIED GOVERNMENTS SHOULD PROVIDE AND EXPECT.);

(D) (ALLIED PARTICIPANTS WISH TO SATISFY LEGITIMATE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED ASPIRATIONS BUT IN A WAY CONSISTENT WITH NATO MEMBERS' OWN SECURITY AND THE NATURE OF THE CSCE. HOWEVER, THE ALREADY-AGREED TEXT ON MILITARY VISIT EXCHANGES SEEMS TO BE THE ONLY ADDITIONAL CBM LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WARSAW PACT, AND THE ALLIANCE HAS NO (STRONG) (DIRECT) INTEREST IN PRESSING ANY OF THE NEUTRAL PROPOSALS STILL ON THE TABLE).

6. (THE COMMITTEE HAS ALSO CONSIDERED THE SELF-RESTRAINT CONFIDENTIAL

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ISSUE IN THE PREAMBULAR FORM AS FAVOURED BY MOST DELEGATIONS.)

7. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE RECOGNIZED THAT ANY COMMITMENT ON CBM'S UNDERTAKEN BY PARTICIPANTS TO THE CSCE WOULD NOT HAVE LEGAL FORCE. HOWEVER, THE COMMITTEE FELT THAT WHILE SOME MEASURES (E.G. EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS, EXCHANGE OF MILITARY VISITS) COULD BE IMPLEMENTED ON A PURELY VOLUNTARY BASIS, THERE SHOULD BE A FIRM POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT MANOEUVRES.

8. THE COMMITTEE FELT THAT IN DISCUSSING CBM'S ALLIED NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THAT:

- ALL PARTICIPANT STATES SHOULD BE INVOLVED AND BE ABLE TO BENEFIT;

- THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE AREA OF APPLICATION SHOULD NOT BE DISCRIMINATORY;

- THE ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD NOT BE SUCH AS TO CONTRADICT THE (WRITTEN OR UNWRITTEN) PRINCIPLE THAT PRIOR NOTIFICATION SHOULD COVER THE AREA MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 5(A) ABOVE AND INVOLVE ALL PARTICIPANTS;

- THERE SHOULD BE NO ARRANGMENTS WHICH BY DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN CERTAIN TYPES (OR LEVELS) OF MILITARY MANOEUVRES, NATIONAL OR MULTINATIONAL, COULD ENABLE A PARTICIPATING STATE TO EXCLUDE NOTIFICATION OF A MANOEUVRE OF POLITICAL OR MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE.

9. FINALLY THE COMMITTEE SUGGESTED THAT ALL AGREEMENTS REACHED ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES BE SEEN AS PART OF A

WHOLE, AND SHOULD NOT THEREFORE BE SETTLED INDEPENDENTLY. (IN  
THE MEANTIME DETAILED QUESTIONS OF FIGURES AND LANGUAGE IN  
TEXTS SHOULD NOT, IN VIEW OF THEIR DELICACY, BE COMMITTED TO  
WRITING.)

END TEXT.  
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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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